1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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115 My collaborator in the present work has been Mr James R Murie, an educated Pawnee whom I have known since he was a schoolboy, twenty years ago. Mr Murie has taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people, and he has not spared himself in his labor. How difficult his undertaking has been, and still is, can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to accomplish a similar work. His patience, tact, and unfailing courtesy and kindness have soothed the prejudice and allayed the fears of the old men who hold fast to the faith of their fathers and are the repositories of all that remains of the ancient rites of the tribe.

Tahirûsawichi, a full-blood Pawnee, who is the authority for the text and explanation of the ceremony which forms the subject of this paper, officially accompanied the Hako when it was carried by his people to the Omahas. He thus became acquainted with the leading men of that tribe, who were my friends, and this circumstance has favored the successful prosecution of this work. During the fall of 1898 and again in 1900 he and Mr Murie were my guests in Washington; then, and also during my visits to the Pawnees in 1899 and 1901, we were engaged upon the rituals of this ceremony. A final review of the manuscript was made with Mr Murie in the spring of 1902.

Tahirûsawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said:* "I can not [793] live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfill my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth." Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such

*See A Pawnee Ritual Used When Changing a Man's Name, American Anthropologist, n. s., v. 1, January, 1899.

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duties throughout the ceremony. Each had a special place in the lodge, and was the recipient of peculiar benefits supposed to be derived from the ceremony. 796*

The Father was usually a chief, or a man prominent in the tribe, who not only had accumulated property, but had a large following of relatives who could contribute to the store of articles required for these rites. The tribal standing of the Son was always equal to that of the Father. [556 554]

The Father selected a man from among those who had been taught the rites and ritual songs to take charge of the ceremony from beginning to end. Such a man was called Ku'rahus, and to him the entire party was required to yield obedience in every particular. The Ku'rahus chose an assistant, and also took with him a third person, a sort of acolyte, to whom he was teaching the rites.

If the Father was a chief, then he had to invite one other chief to be of his party, to act as substitute whenever he was obliged to be absent from his post of duty. If, however, the Father was not himself a chief, then it became necessary for him to secure the attendance of two chiefs, one to act as substitute for the other, as the constant presence of a chief was required throughout the ceremony. 796* 622

The priest who had charge of the shrine sacred to rain was also of the Father's party. It was his duty to furnish the pipe and conduct the ceremony of offering smoke to Tira'wa. The Father's party also included two doctors, men who had received a knowledge of healing plants, either directly through visions or by initiation into certain rites by which this knowledge was communicated. Each was required to bring an eagle's wing, one the right wing and the other the left. The wing of the eagle is the official mark of a doctor. The Father must also secure a number of singers, whose duty it was to carry the drum and act as a choir to accompany the Ku'rahus, who always led the singing. The rest of the party of the Father was made up of his kindred, with such of his friends as might desire to contribute to the required food and gifts and thus to become entitled to share in the return gifts made to the Fathers by the Children. 796* [793] [791 237] [533]* [602]

The preliminary ceremonies (the first three rituals) took place at the lodge of the Father, and from it the party of the Fathers started on its journey.

Requisites of the Ceremony and Their Symbolism

The objects peculiar to this ceremony were two feathered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood. They were rounded and smoothed, and the pith was burned out to leave an opening for the breath to pass, as through a pipestem. One of these stems was named Ruha'katittu, from ru, the, this one; ha=huk, a part of the word hakkow, breathing mouth of wood, the k being dropped for euphony (see translation of hawkowpirus, drum, page 17); katit, dark, 796* 192 778

THE HAKO

THE PREPARATION

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The ceremony of the Hako is a prayer for children, in order that
[782] the tribe may increase and be strong; and also that the people may have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace.

The articles that are used in the ceremony can be prepared only under the direction and supervision of a man who has been taught the sacred songs in their sequence and instructed as to their meaning. Such a man is called Ku'rahus, which means a man of years, venerated for his knowledge and experience.

When a man intends to inaugurate a party for the performance of this ceremony, he selects a Ku'rahus to have complete charge of it, and fixes a day when the preliminary rites are to be performed. On
[783] that day the Ku'rahus goes into the sweat lodge and there purifies himself. When he has come out of the sweat bath and has cooled off
[516] a little, he places sweet grass on a small pile of coals. Then he sits down (on his heels) and draws a robe about himself and the coals, so that the smoke of the sweet grass may reach every part of his body. He then takes a bit of fat which has been preserved from a deer or buffalo consecrated to Tira'wa, and mixes it with red paint and anoints himself. Then he puts on his leggings and moccasins, and a buffalo robe, with the hair outside, tying it about the waist with a rope made of buffalo hair. He fastens a white, downy eagle feather in his scalp lock and goes to the lodge of the man who has inaugurated the party.
[793] He takes with him a man as assistant; he is also accompanied by another man, who is learning the songs and the details of the ceremony, preparatory to becoming himself able to conduct this rite, but whose present duty is to minister to the wants of the Ku'rahus.

At the lodge the chiefs and leading men of the village have been assembled, with those who have agreed to be of the party and have contributed the requisite gifts. This lodge has been swept clean and put in order for the occasion. The Ku'rahus takes his seat at the west end of the lodge, facing the east, and before him, spread out on a mat, are the materials for the preparation of the ceremonial articles.

After the Ku'rahus has begun to sing the songs belonging to the act of preparing these articles there must be no coming in or going out of the lodge, and no one can move from his place until this (the first ritual) has been completed. An exception is made in the case of two men who are sent out by the Ku'rahus to cut and bring in two sticks of ash. They go out during the singing of a certain stanza of the first song and must return while another particular stanza of the same song is being sung.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the
794 Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
825 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

●793 The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
782 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
793 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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PART III. CLOTHING THE SUN AND OFFERING SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The Ku'rahus orders that the pack containing the new garments brought for the Sun be opened, and he directs the chief to clothe the Sun. The embroidered shirt, leggings, and moccasins are then put upon him and he is wrapped in a fine robe.

The Ku'rahus asks the priest of the shrine which controls the rain to take its sacred pipe and direct the Sun how to offer tobacco and smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest fills the sacred pipe and carries it toward the south, where he sits down beside the Sun and instructs him what to do.

The Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief, bearing the sacred objects, follow the priest and halt before the Sun.

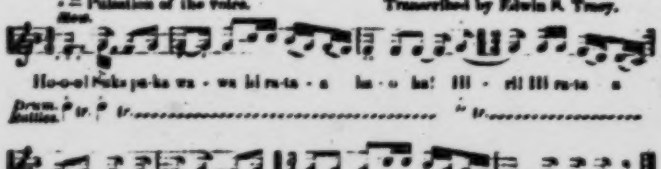
The priest puts the sacred pipe in the hand of the Sun, and the first stanza of the following song is sung.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 82.

♩ = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I		II	
417	Ho-o-o!	421	Ho-o-o!
418	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	422	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
419	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!	423	Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
420	Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!	424	Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

Translation of First Stanza

417 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

418 Suks paka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!

suks, a command; you must.

paka, pako, speak. The change in the last vowel is for euphony.

wawa, part of rawawa, to send something; in this instance, to send the words or thoughts of the prayer.

hi, that person.

rata, my or mine.

a, vowel prolongation.

hao, child; offspring.

ha, a musical vocable used to fill out the measure.

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*539 *796 419 Hiri! Hi rata-a hao ha!
hiri! an exclamation meaning give heed! harken!
hi rata-a hao ha! See line 418.
420 See line 418.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The words of this stanza are a command to the Son. They are, "Give heed, my child; you must now send your prayers to the powers which dwell above."

This stanza is sung four times.

Then the Son takes a pinch of tobacco from the bowl of the pipe and passes it along the stem and offers it as the priest directs.

[793 718] There is a certain order to be observed in the offering of tobacco and smoke to the powers above peculiar to each of the sacred shrines, and only the priest or keeper of a shrine knows the order in which the powers which preside over his shrine should be approached. The sacred pipe belonging to the Rain shrine is used in this ceremony, and its priest must direct the Son how to make the offering. I do not know this order; it does not belong to me to know it.

When the pinch of tobacco has been presented to the powers above it is placed upon the earth.

After this act the second stanza is sung.

Translation of Second Stanza

421 Hoo-o! An introductory exclamation.
422 Ti wawaka wawa hi rata-a hao ha!
ti, he.
wawaka; waka, spoken; the added wa indicates that he has spoken to those who are at a great distance.
wawa, part of tiwari, traveling from one, and towawa, traveling in many ways, to many different places.
hi, that person.
rata, my or mine.
a, vowel prolongation.
hao, child.
ha, a musical vocable.
423 See line 419.
424 See line 422.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[782] As the Son offers tobacco in the directions indicated by the priest, he prays to the powers that dwell in these directions. What he says is not audible to us, for it is not intended for us to hear.

The words of this stanza refer to the prayers of the Son.

We are bidden to take heed that the prayers of the Son, who is as our child, have been spoken and have traveled far, going on and on to the different distant places where the great powers abide which watch over the rain.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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778 796 178

Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an attempt made to put them in physical order.

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate. [424]

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

778 793 424 622 869 [602]

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

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2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the old and learned always held back something until they were ready to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest, a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance: the physical bundle survived, though it might be less and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision then became a command upon himself and others around him to carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief.

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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178 778 793 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things. It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew: it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 595 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind" . . . Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahukasus (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 561, 570, 577, 576, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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meat. Here rested a buffalo skull, so placed that it faced the entrance of the lodge and, consequently, the rising sun. Above this, and suspended from one of the rafter poles, was the sacred bundle and other religious paraphernalia."[9] This space is designated as the altar, and the sleeping space on either side of it was the most honored, the positions being graduated downward to that of the oldest people, which was next the door. The floor of the lodge was a foot or two below the ground and its framework may briefly be described as a "skeleton stockade" of heavy posts on which poles were laid, extending upward to the posts which supported the smoke-hole and outward to a bank of earth around the outer edge of the lodge. This framework was covered with earth and sod, resting on long willow rods laid transversely on the poles or rafters. The entrance was protected by a covered way built of poles and having an earth-covered roof. This lodge was constructed in a ceremonial manner and when a family returned from an absence the posts of the lodge were ceremonially anointed before they resumed their occupancy. A family usually possessed also a tipi covered with hides and used as a summer abode while on the hunt. Another structure used on the hunt was made by bending willows into a dome-like frame which was covered with boughs or skins.

The tribal organization has been mentioned as consisting of four bands, each living in its own location. Each band had its hereditary chief and its council composed of the chief and leading men. It had also its shrine ("sacred bundle") containing sacred objects, and its priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with those objects. Miss Fletcher states that "Through the sacred and symbolic articles of the shrines and their rituals and ceremonies a medium of communication was believed to be opened between the people and the supernatural powers by which food, long life, and prosperity were obtained."[10]

The social organization of the tribe was clearly defined. At the head of this social order stood the chief, whose orders were enforced by four men called Nahikuts. Below these in rank were the Kurahus or priests who performed the ceremonies; next in order were the Kurau, or medicine men, and the warriors, while below these were the members of the tribe who held no office. The tribal council was composed of men who belonged to the council of several bands, and this body transacted all business which affected the welfare of the tribe. Descent was reckoned through the female line, and a man, after his marriage, went to live with his wife's family.

[9] Dorsey, George A. Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee. Memoirs Amer. Folk-Lore Society, vol. VIII, p. xv. New York, 1904.

[10] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging to the several bands there were two bundles which were the property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies, tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained other articles, and the skins of birds other than those mentioned.

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl. 7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidi villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidi.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the 224 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must 631 be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens 778 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the 793 leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

The Society of Chiefs.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs, which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs; i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader, or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

[1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one's position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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very swift, and symbolized the dangerous cyclone coming from the clouds. The hawk skin was used because the hawk was made to be powerful and killed its prey with its wings, which were symbolic of a war club. [The hawk kills its prey with its knuckles rather than its wings.]

PRIESTS

As the chief gave the people instruction and advice in worldly matters, so the priest, who controlled the ritual attached to the sacred village bundle, kept the society en rapport with the supernatural. The priestly class among the Skidi comprised the most learned men of the tribe. They were required to have prodigious memories and were said to swallow every song. In addition to those sung at ceremonies, the priests recited rituals of instruction for the changing of names, and others having to do with agriculture, the hunt, and the warpath. They served as go-betweens in weddings, and in general played a great part in the social life of the village. Inasmuch as the office of priest required above all an extraordinarily retentive memory and a deeply religious attitude of mind, the priests often encouraged young men possessing these qualifications to become their pupils and ultimately admitted the students to the priestly class. The priest's life was shortened or lengthened in accordance with the sacrifices he made and by his zeal in guarding the esoteric knowledge entrusted to him. For him to speak of the secrets of the altar trivially or on ordinary occasions was to shorten his life.

Associated with the priests were errand men and criers. The latter were old men who had spent a great part of their lives in the performance of sacrifices and who were entitled to announce ceremonies and recite rituals of instruction, particularly those referring to creation, through the village. Their share of the ceremonial feasts was great and in proportion to the honor in which they were held. For a child to mock them or to imitate their intonation or to treat them with disrespect was to incur a severe beating from the parents. The errand men, two in each lodge, stationed on the north and south sides by the entrance, assisted in the ceremonies by building the fire and replenishing it, acting as messengers for the priests in summoning the participants of a ceremony, and so forth. Like the priests and criers, they also received a share of the feast which might be distributed at the conclusion of a ceremony.

105 The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee
[171] differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but
they understood the arts of pottery-making and bas-
291 ket-weaving. During the summer the men usually
wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings
and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins,
leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned
on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe
do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The
302 men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made
301 it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced
the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings.
342 In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth
lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine
Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the
sort used by all the Plains tribes.

631 The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or
bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi.
The first three of these were closely related, but the
Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and
considered themselves more closely related to the
Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some dis-
tance to the north. In their settlements along the river,
[361] the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi
being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest
downstream, and the other two bands between. Each
621 band was divided into a number of villages which were
social as well as geographical units. All the members
of a village believed themselves to be descended from
a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made
within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female
[778] line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) con-
● [793] taining sacred objects, and priests who had charge of
the rituals and ceremonies connected with these ob-
622 jects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a
council composed of its leading men. If the chief was
a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

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793

A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.

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7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places, 796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick [824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the 796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. [786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative 782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace, 796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
778 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
821 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
221 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The
[778] sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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796 782 [793] [221] [727] [178]

the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

796 221 778

TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

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represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk-hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his otter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

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ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

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243 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The
793 priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and
787 were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey
788 symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the
[772] men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

243 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves
793 around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions
787 priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man
[782] lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

[793 243] In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

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wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe to it to smoke.

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

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together and again enjoying a festive meal at their daughter-in-law's house afterward.

Now at the beginning of June everyone's mind was turned to completing the preparations for leaving on the summer hunt. They would weed and cultivate the corn plants and hill up the earth once more just before leaving, when the plants were about 3½ feet high. The present Nebraska farmer says, "Knee high by the fourth of July" and the Pawnee said, "Tall enough to tickle the horse's belly."

The corn and the buffalo that sustained the Pawnee placed heavy demands upon him. Only by carrying out his year's round with great precision and by careful coordination of his activities with other people of the tribe could he combine these two major food resources. The administrative activities of the priests and the chiefs were as vital to his enterprise as the physical resources themselves. Few administrative structures have commended themselves so directly to the people as that of the Pawnees. Respect for the chief was a cardinal tenet of every Pawnee's life, in return for which the chief demonstrated a dedicated concern for his people.

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CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

When the corn was laid by in the beginning of June, a new phase in the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keeping life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal. And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

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blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the invitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

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A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

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bands were busy restraining the hunters from anticipating the attack of the group. The herd was very widely scattered over the land and they were coming up from the river to graze. They could not manage the usual surround, so the hunters dashed ahead over and around the several hills that lay between them and the herd. 224* 484* 625 628

Meanwhile the line of march had been holding back, proceeding very slowly so that they would not interfere with the hunt itself. When the men had completed their attack on the herd, the encampment was set up in the angle of the confluence of Cedar Creek and the Solomon.

The hunt having been successful under the leadership of Chief Many Trophies, an old priest of the Downstream Band came walking through the camps. He represented the tradition of the sacred bundle under whose auspices the hunt had been conducted. He wore a war bonnet with feathers all around his head, possibly symbolizing a comet, and around his waist a buffalo robe that hung down about his legs. In his right hand he held the sacred pipe and over his left arm he was carrying some breast meat and some fat. All along the way men and boys from the four bands were trailing after him. 224* 793 782 778 628

When he stopped at the west of the encampment, everyone lined up. He placed the pipe against the meat and fat, then raised the latter up toward the west four times in offering. Just as he was about to put the meat and fat on the ground, the whole crowd pounced on it and tried to grab a piece of meat and fat to bless their homes. They grabbed from one another on all sides, with the little boys scampering out of the way for fear of getting hurt. The old man, meanwhile, picked up his pipe and went north around the camp to his own tent. The other two South Bands also had their special band bundles, the Asking-for-Meat Band had a very sacred Ant bundle, and the Little-Earth-Lodge Band, a Raccoon bundle.

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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243 778 793 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe [276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western [782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was [574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn. After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a corn feast.

243 778 796 [793] The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

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mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

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243 778 776 793 [782] harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

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[782] At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

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With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony. 243 778 793

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke. [782]

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers. 796 619 [778]

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west. 796 346

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for 796

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also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

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PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony

THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

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THE COUNCIL TENT

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particularly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a time.

As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

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who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the way these things should be done." This was considered a major public service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to carry out this mission. 224* 793 869

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council began. 224* [521] 794 574 [624] [252]

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat." The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with, and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast. 224* [492] [515] [264]

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*224 264 They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

*224 623 628 The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

*224 623 • 793 [701] [625] [778] The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

*224 623 628 793 [625] [574] [264] Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

*224 623 625 574 [293] The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

*224 623 562 [25] Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

*224 [793] [825] The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of